

## Message Text

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11  
ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAM-01

AID-05 ACDA-07 OMB-01 TRSE-00 EB-07 EUR-12 IO-13 /102 W  
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R 120805Z AUG 76  
FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6157  
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK  
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA  
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR  
AMEMBASSY MANILA  
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE  
AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 JAKARTA 10573

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, MASS, ID, VN, AS, US  
SUBJECT: ASSISTANT SECRETARY HUMMEL'S DISCUSSIONS IN JAKARTA

1. SUMMARY. GOI OFFICIALS WHO MET WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY HUMMEL AUGUST 11 SHOWED KEEN INTEREST IN FUTURE OF US POLICY AND MILITARY PRESENCE IN PACIFIC, PROSPECTS FOR US RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM, AND AVAILABILITY OF CONTINUED MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FROM US. THEY APPEARED WELCOME ASSURANCES OF US INTENTION TO PLAY CONTINUED ROLE IN ASIA THOUGH IT WAS EVIDENT THEY STILL UNCERTAIN THAT USG CAN PROVIDE AID, ESPECIALLY IN MILITARY FIELD, WHICH GOI BELIEVES IT NEEDS.  
END SUMMARY.

2. IN THE ABSENCE OF FONMIN MALIK, WHO IS IN COLOMBO, ASSISTANT SECRETARY HUMMEL AND THE AMBASSADOR CALLED ON  
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ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER (AND DEFENSE MINISTER) GENERAL

PANGGABEAN. ALSO PRESENT ON THE INDONESIAN SIDE WERE GEN. HASNAN HABIB, GOI DEFENSE DEPT. ADMINISTRATION CHIEF; MRS. WIRJOSAPOETRO OF FONDEPT (DEPLU) POLITICAL DIRECTORATE; AMB. SABIR, DIRECTOR AMERICAN AFFAIRS DEPLU; AND MR. ED SINAGA, SPECIAL ASST. TO GEN. PANGGABEAN.

3. PANGGABEAN INITIATED THE SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION BY REFERRING TO SRV DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER PHAN HIEN'S RECENT VISIT TO JAKARTA. THE VIETNAMESE DELEGATION WAS WELCOME, ACCORDING TO PANGGABEAN, BUT THE GOI WAS DISMAYED THAT THE VISIT WAS FOLLOWED BY ANOTHER SRV BLAST AGAINST INDONESIA'S ACTIONS IN TIMOR. MRS. WIRJOSAPOETRO STATED THE GOI BELIEVES A DIALOGUE AND COMMUNICATIONS WITH THOSE IN THE AREA AROUND INDONESIA IS ESSENTIAL, AND IN THAT VEIN HIEN'S VISIT WAS A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. SHE NOTED THAT THE VIETNAMESE HAD BEEN PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN POSSIBLE ASSISTANCE FROM INDONESIAN IN THE AGRICULTURE, PETROLEUM AND MINING FIELDS. HUMMEL STATED THAT THE US HAS NOT TAKEN ANY EXCEPTION TO THE STEPS WHICH THE ASEAN COUNTRIES HAVE MADE TOWARD ESTABLISHING RELATIONS WITH HANOI, BUT THAT WE BELIEVE CAUTION IS IN ORDER AND THE US ITSELF INTENDS TO MOVE SLOWLY VIS-A-VIS THE SRV. PERHAPS EXCHANGES SUCH AS THE ASEAN COUNTRIES ARE DEVELOPING WITH HANOI WILL HAVE A SALUTARY EFFECT ON HANOI'S PERCEPTIONS OF THE WORLD AROUND IT. PANGGABEAN MUSED THAT THE ASEAN DIALOGUE WITH HANOI COULD BE USEFUL TO HANOI IN THE LATTER'S BALANCING ACT BETWEEN THE SOVIETS AND PRC. MRS. WIRJOSAPOETRO ADDED THAT HANOI'S ATTITUDE TOWARD ASEAN SEEMED TO BE ONE OF CAUTION, ALTHOUGH HANOI HAD NOT REJECTED A PRIORI ASEAN AS AN ORGANIZATION.

4. GEN. PANGGABEAN ASKED MR. HUMMEL ABOUT THE RECENT ANZUS DISCUSSIONS, IN PARTICULAR DELIBERATIONS CONCERNING THE INDIAN OCEAN AND DIEGO GARCIA. HUMMEL RESPONDED BY NOTING THE AUSTRALIAN AND NEW ZEALAND SUPPORT FOR US EFFORTS TO COUNTER SOVIET PRESENCE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN. HE STATED A VERY SUBSTANTIAL PORTION OF THE COUNCIL MEETING HAD BEEN DEVOTED TO DISCUSSION OF SOVIET ACTIVITIES IN THE SOUTHWEST PACIFIC. THE ANZUS PARTNERS WERE CONCERNED THAT THE SOVIETS MAY SEEK TO ESTABLISH A PRESENCE IN THAT AREA WHICH COULD SIGNIFICANTLY ALTER THE STRATEGIC BALANCE IN THE PACIFIC. IN RESPONSE TO

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PANGGABEAN'S FURTHER QUESTION, HUMMEL NOTED THAT THE MOST SERIOUS POTENTIAL THREAT IN THE REGION IS, AT THIS TIME, THE USSR. IN THIS REGARD, THE US DELEGATION MADE IT CLEAR TO OUR ANZUS COLLEAGUES THAT THE US INTENDS TO REMAIN A PACIFIC POWER. FOR EXAMPLE, WE INTEND TO MAINTAIN OUR BASES IN THE PHILIPPINES AND OTHER FORWARD BASING AND DEPLOYMENTS AS CURRENTLY EXIST IN EAST ASIA. HUMMEL EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT THE PHILIPPINE BASE NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE CONCLUDED SUCCESSFULLY.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 JAKARTA 10573

5. IN RESPONSE TO EVIDENT CURIOSITY AND SOME CONCERN FROM THE  
INDONESIAN SIDE, HUMMEL NOTED THAT THE TREND OF POLITICAL  
OPINION AND DISCUSSION IN THE US IS TOWARD MORE RATIONAL  
DEBATE ON FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES, WITH A CONCURRENT SUBSIDING  
OF THE EMOTIONAL RHETORIC SO FAMILIAR IN THE DAYS OF THE INDO-  
CHINA WAR. THE POLITICAL PLATFORMS OF BOTH THE MAJOR PARTIES,  
AND EXPRESSIONS OF FOREIGN POLICY ORIENTATION MADEY BY MR. CARTER,  
SUGGEST THAT THERE WILL BE BROAD CONTINUITY IN AMERICAN FOREIGN  
POLICY REGAFDLESS OF THE NOVEMBER ELECTIONS. BOTH GENERALS  
PANGGABEAN AND HASNAN HABIB INDICATED THAT INDONESIA HOPES TO  
ACHIEVE, IN THE LONG RUN, THE CAPABILITY TO DEFEND ITSELF.  
HOWEVER, IN THE MEANTIME INDONESIA DOES NOT WISH TO SEE THE  
US RETREAT FROM THE REGION.

6. AT THE INITIATIVE OF THE INDONESIAN SIDE THERE WAS CON-  
SIDERABLE DISCUSSION ABOUT US INTENTIONS TO CONTINUE ECONOMIC  
AND SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO INDONESIA. REGARDING THE FORMER,  
HUMMEL ASSURED THE INDONESIANS THAT THE STATE DEPT. IS

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ATTEMPTING TO OBTAIN BETTER TERMS FOR INDONESIAN PURCHASE OF PL-480 COMMODITIES. SIMILARLY, STATE IS ATTEMPTING TO OBTAIN IMPROVED FMS CREDIT REPAYMENT TERMS FOR INDONESIA. GEN. HASNAN HABIB WAS AGGRESSIVE IN SEEKING TO ELICIT FROM HUMMEL US INTENTIONS WITH RESPECT TO SECURITY ASSISTANCE LEVELS IN THE COMING YEARS. HE ASKED SEVERAL TIMES WHETHER THERE WAS ANY HOPE THAT THE USG MIGHT INCREASE EITHER ITS GRANT OR FMS LEVELS, NOTING THAT THE GOI IS ATTEMPTING TO DEVELOP PLANS FOR MODERNIZING THE INDONESIAN ARMED FORCES, WEAPONS SYSTEMS OF WHICH HAVE BECOME DANGEROUSLY OBSOLESCE. HUMMEL RESPONDED THAT WHILE HE DID NOT RULE OUT SOME INCREASE IN FMS, THE TIDE OF CONGRESSIONAL SENTIMENT IS SUCH THAT LARGE INCREASES IN GRANT AID WOULD NOT SEEM LIKELY. HE EMPHASIZED THAT HE DID NOT WISH TO PROVIDE ANY ASSURANCES TO THE INDONESIAN SIDE WHICH COULD SUBSEQUENTLY RESULT IN A FEELING OF UNFULFILLED EXPECTATIONS. AMB. NEWSOM NOTED THAT INDONESIA'S RECENT PURCHASE OF CERTAIN MILITARY EQUIPMENT ON COMMERCIAL CREDIT, AND INDONESIA'S SEARCH FOR THIRD COUNTRY SOURCES OF SUPPLY WHICH WOULD BE COMPATIBLE WITH INDONESIA'S EXISTING ARMAMENT, WERE PROMISING STEPS TO SUPPLEMENT INDONESIA'S OTHER SOURCES OF ARMS. PANGGABEAN EMPHASIZED THAT THE GOI WILL DO ITS UTMOST TO DEVELOP ITS OWN ECONOMIC AND INTERNAL STRENGTH, BUT THE THREAT WHICH THE PRC, THE USSR AND VIETNAM POSE TO INDONESIA MAKES IT ESSENTIAL THAT THE CAPABILITY OF THE ARMED FORCES BE UP-GRADED IN THE NEAR FUTURE. HE ADDED THAT INDONESIA HOPES THE US CAN CONTINUE TO HELP IT SO THAT THE GOI "CAN DO YOUR WORK FOR YOU IN THIS AREA."

7. HUMMEL ASKED THE ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER FOR INDONESIAN SUPPORT ON THE KOREAN ISSUE, SHOULD IT AGAIN ARISE IN THE FORTHCOMING UNGA. HE URGED THAT INDONESIA WORK TO ASSURE THAT A ONE-SIDED RESOLUTION DOES NOT DEVELOP IN THE UNGA. WHILE THE US HOPES THAT CONFRONTATION IN THE ASSEMBLY CAN STILL BE AVOIDED, THE US WILL BE PREPARED TO PLAY ITS PROPER ROLE IF SUCH CONFRONTATION MUST DEVELOP. PANGGABEAN STATED THAT THE GOI "WILL ASSIST IN EVERY WAY POSSIBLE." HE ADDED THERE IS NO DOUBT WHERE INDONESIA'S INTERESTS REST ON THAT ISSUE.

8. IN A SUBSEQUENT SESSION WITH GEN. ALI MURTOPO, PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR AND HONORARY CHAIRMAN OF THE CENTRE FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (CSIS), HUMMEL AND THE AMBASSADOR CONFIDENTIAL

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DUCTED A GENERAL REVIEW OF THE STRATEGIC SITUATION IN THE

REGION WITH MURTOPO AND TWO OF HIS CENTRE COLLEAGUES. MURTOPO STATED A CONTINUED US PRESENCE IN THE REGION WILL BE ESSENTIAL FOR THE NEXT 10-15 YEARS AS A BALANCE TO THE SOVIETS. IN RECENT DISCUSSIONS IN OTHER ASEAN CAPITALS, HE HAD FOUND PRIME MINISTER LEE KUAN YEW AND THAI PRIME MINISTER SENI PRAMOJ IN COMPLETE AGREEMENT WITH THAT ASSESSMENT. (MALAYSIAN PRIME MINISTER HUSSEIN ONN AND FORMER THAI PRIME MINISTER KUKRIT HAD NEITHER AGREED NOR DISAGREED WITH MURTOPO'S THESIS.)

9. ON OTHER SUBJECTS, HUMMEL AND THE AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT WHILE US FOREIGN POLICY WOULD CERTAINLY HAVE A CONTINUITY REGARDLESS OF THE OUTCOME OF THE NOVEMBER ELECTIONS, IT COULD ALSO BE EXPECTED THAT US INTEREST IN HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES AROUND THE WORLD WOULD BE MAINTAINED. ONE OF THE CSIS STAFF MEMBERS PRESENT SOUGHT HUMMEL'S ASSESSMENT OF THE RATIONALE BEHIND AUSTRALIAN PRIME MINISTER FRASER'S RECENT "EMBRACE" OF THE PRC. FROM THE ENSUING DISCUSSION, IT WAS EVIDENT THAT SOME SENSITIVITY EXISTS ON THE INDONESIAN SIDE THAT THE GOA IS PLACING ITS SEA NEIGHBORS, SUCH AS INDONESIA, IN AN EMBARRASSING POSITION BY THIS PUBLIC EMBRACE. ACCORDING TO THE INDONESIAN INTERLOCUTORS, THE PRC REMAINS INDONESIA'S MOST IMMEDIATE THREAT--EVEN THOUGH THE SOVIET THREAT IS EVIDENT AS WELL.

10. COMMENT: TWO PRINCIPAL POINTS EMERGED FROM THE FOREGOING DISCUSSIONS. THE GOI (AT LEAST AS REPRESENTED BY PANGGABEAN AND MURTOPO) CONTINUES TO FAVOR STRONGLY AN ACTIVE US ROLE AND PRESENCE IN SEA, ALTHOUGH THEY MAY NOT ENDORSE IT PUBLICLY, SECONDLY, THERE REMAINS DOUBT IN INDONESIAN MINDS AS TO THE ABILITY OF THE US TO DELIVER ASSISTANCE IN AMOUNTS ADQUATE TO INDONESIAN REQUIREMENTS, PARTICULARLY ON THE MILITARY AID SIDE. IN THE SAME VEIN, US PROFESSIONS OF DETERMINATION TO MAINTAIN A FORWARD AND ACTIVE SECURITY PRESENCE IN THE REGION ARE VIEWED WITH LESS THAN FULL CREDIBILITY. THE IMPACT OF THIS CONCLUSION IS IN PART RESPONSIBLE FOR WHAT WOULD APPEAR TO BE A VARIETY OF INDONESIAN STEPS IN RECENT MONTHS TO MOVE BACK TO A SOMEWHAT MORE NON-ALIGNED POSTURE AND GREATER ASSOCIATION WITH SOME OF THE POSITIONS CURRENTLY BEING ADVANCED BY THE THIRD WORLD.

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## Message Attributes

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**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
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